



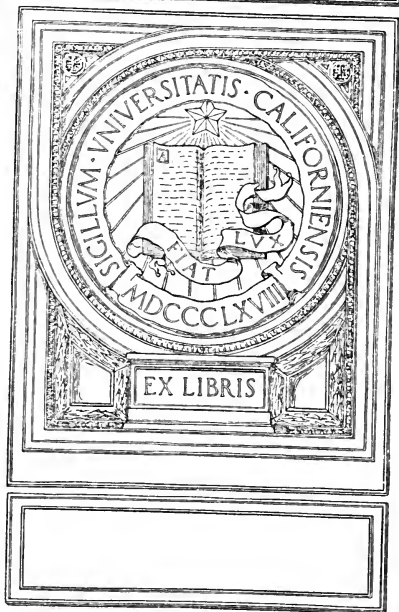
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New ser.

no. 4

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
AT LOS ANGELES









ANTI-SLAVERY TRACTS. No. 4. New Series.

THE
NEW “REIGN OF TERROR”
IN THE
SLAVEHOLDING STATES,
FOR
1859-60.

NEW YORK:

PUBLISHED BY THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

1860.



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P R E F A C E .

"There exists," says the *New York Tribune*, "at this moment, throughout the Southern States, an actual Reign of Terror. No Northern man, whatever may be his character, his opinions, or his life, but simply because he is a Northern man, can visit that region without the certainty of being subjected to a mean espionage over all his actions, and a rigid watchfulness over all his expressions of opinions; with the risk of personal indignity, and danger even to life and limb. This mortifying necessity of submission to a contemptible despotism, or suffering the penalty of any assertion of an independent and manly spirit, is confined to no condition of life, but is enforced upon every visitor, whether he be a poor mechanic like Powers, who hammers stone for a living, a merchant's clerk like Crangale, who is paid with imprisonment for asking the settlement of a just debt, a peddler who sells books as harmless as a dictionary, or a Member of Congress, who, for words spoken in debate, may be, by the bludgeon of a bully, incapacitated for the rest of his life for following any honorable or useful career. Nor is it necessary even to cross Mason and Dixon's line to come under this degrading compulsion. Northern merchants who sell goods for Southern consumption are called upon to square their opinions according to the plantation standard, and any recusancy on their part is visited with the discipline of the loss of trade. Editors of petty Southern newspapers hardly capable of forming an intelligent notion upon any subject, and quite incapable of writing two consecutive sentences of even tolerable English, form their Black Lists and White Lists, and compel the obedience and subsidy of large commercial houses of a great, and wealthy, and powerful city, a thousand miles distant. And, worst of all, this state of things seems accepted rather as in the natural order of events, than as a monstrous growth of an insolent tyranny on the one hand, and the subserviency of an infinitely mean, and sordid, and peddling poltroonery on the other.

And here is its latest development. A morning paper of yesterday publishes 'a card,' signed 'James P. Hambleton, editor of the *Southern Confederacy*.' The Black List of the *Confederacy* had included the name of Davis, Noble & Co., No. 87 Chambers street, and the purpose of the card is to exonerate this firm from the charge implied in that publication, the

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editor being now satisfied, on 'the best evidence, that the aforesaid firm are true, constitutional men, having never been tainted with any of the Anti-Slavery *isms* of the day, either directly or indirectly, and that we hereby recommend them to their former patrons at the South, as a concern in every respect deserving their continued patronage and support.' We neither know nor care what the evidence may be which has produced this change — whether it be a suit of clothes, a pair of shoes, a hat, a bill of dry goods, a bill of wet goods, or fifty dollars in current bills — the fact itself is enough. The disgraceful fact is enough that this Hambleton is at this moment in New York; that he is, while we write, making a round of calls upon tradesmen, receiving sometimes money, sometimes goods, and always the evidence of the most despicable subserviency, on condition that he will certify to that fact; and that nowhere, among all these tradesmen — men who on Sunday go to church, who are not hissed when they appear in public, who look their wives in the face, who meet their children unabashed, who go into the streets by daylight — men, moreover, whose legs have the ordinary muscular development, whose boots have the ordinary thickness, to all whose stores there is a front door — have not one of them, as yet, indignantly ejected Mr. James P. Hambleton from their premises! We honestly and sincerely think that this is a fact not to be laughed at, but one which demands our most serious consideration."

Let us suppose the tables to be turned; suppose there existed here a little of the spirit of '76, such as our fathers manifested in their treatment of the tories at that time, and we should catch, and tar and feather, every slaveholder coming into the North, by way of retaliation, and to show our jealous appreciation of the sacred cause of freedom — how long would "our glorious Union" hold together? How many victims would be subjected to *Northern* Lynch law, before the South would bring this matter to a head? And yet, there are scores of Northern men so treated at the South, — not one of them an Abolitionist, or in sympathy with their movement, — and the intelligence excites no popular indignation among us, and scarcely elicits a comment from the press. In one half of the country, there is, practically, no Constitution or Union now; there, all constitutional rights are ruthlessly violated in the persons of those who believe in the Declaration of Independence and the Golden Rule; there, a bloody usurpation holds undisputed sway. And for such atrocities there is no remedy; at least, none is looked for, none even attempted. The submission to them, on the part of the North, is as absolute as that exacted of the scourged and cowering slaves on the plantation!

People of the North! read and ponder the following record of the high-handed measures and lawless deeds referred to, and decide the question, — OF WHAT VALUE IS THE UNION?

THE NEW REIGN OF TERROR.

AUTHORISED VIOLATION OF THE MAILS.

RICHMOND, Va., Nov. 28th, 1859.

A Postmaster in the county of Doddridge, in this State, wrote recently to Gov. Wise, asking information as to what disposition he should make of such incendiary newspapers as the New York *Tribune*, and others of that stamp from Ohio, received in that county. The Governor referred the matter to John Randolph Tucker, Esq., the Attorney-General for this State, and probably the ablest constitutional lawyer in the Commonwealth, for his opinion. Mr. Tucker examined the subject very carefully, and, as will be seen by his opinion, which I herewith transmit, disposed *satisfactorily* of the apparent conflict of jurisdiction between the State and Federal authorities involved in this question:—

RICHMOND, Nov. 26th, 1859.

SIR,—The question is submitted to me for an opinion as to the effect of the law of Virginia upon the distribution of mail matter when it is of an incendiary character. A newspaper, printed in the State of Ohio, propagating abolition doctrines, is sent to a person through a post office in Virginia. What is the duty of the Postmaster in the premises?

The law of Virginia (Code of Va., chap. 198, sec. 24) provides that "If a Postmaster or Deputy Postmaster know that any such book or writing (referring to such as advise or incite negroes to rebel or make insurrection, or inculcate resistance to the right of property of masters in their slaves)

has been received at his office in the mail, he shall give notice thereof to some Justice, who shall inquire into the circumstances, and have such book or writing burned in his presence; if it appear to him that the person to whom it was directed subscribed therefor, knowing its character, or agreed to receive it for circulation to aid the purposes of abolitionists, the Justice shall commit such person to jail. If any Postmaster or Deputy Postmaster violate this section, he shall be fined not exceeding two hundred dollars."

This law is obligatory upon every Postmaster and Deputy Postmaster in the Commonwealth; and it is his duty, upon being aware that such book or writing is received at his office, to notify a Justice of the fact, that he may take the proceedings prescribed in the section quoted.

This State law is entirely constitutional, and does not, properly considered, conflict with the Federal authority in the establishment of post offices and post roads. This Federal power to transmit and carry mail matter does not carry with it the power to publish or to circulate. This last is a great State power, reserved and absolutely necessary to be maintained as a security to its citizens and to their rights. If the States had surrendered this power, it would, in these important particulars, have been at the mercy of the Federal authorities.

With the transmission of the mail matter to the point of its reception, the Federal power ceases. At that point, the power of the State becomes exclusive. Whether her citizens shall receive the mail matter, is a question exclusively for her determination. Whatever her regulation upon the subject, is for her decision alone, and no one can gainsay it. Her sovereign right to make it closes the door to cavil and objection.

It is true the Postmaster is an officer of the Federal Government, but it is equally true he is a citizen of the State. By taking the Federal office, he cannot avoid his duty as a citizen; and the obligation to perform the duty of his office cannot absolve him from obedience to the laws of his Commonwealth, nor will they be found to conflict. The State, in the case supposed, holds the hand of her citizen from receiving what is sent to him, and takes it herself. No citizen has the right to receive an invitation to treason against the commands of his State, and her law forbidding it and command-

ing it to be burned, refers to the right of the citizen to receive, not to the right of the Federal power to transmit and carry mail matter intended for him, which he does not receive, only because the law of the State forbids it.

I have no hesitation in saying that any law of Congress, impairing directly or indirectly this reserved right of the State, is unconstitutional, and that the penalty of the State law would be imposed upon a Postmaster offending against it, though he should plead his duty to obey such unconstitutional act of Congress.

If there be a conflict, therefore, between the postal regulations of Congress and this law of Virginia, it is because the former have transcended their true constitutional limits, and have trenched upon the reserved rights of the State. In such a case the citizen, though a Postmaster, must take care to obey the legitimate authority, and will not be exempt from the penalty of the State law by reason of any obligation to perform the duties of a Federal office, which are made to invade the reserved jurisdiction of the State in matters involving her safety and her peace.

It is eminently important that the provisions of the law in question should be rigidly adhered to by all the Postmasters in the State, and that the Justices to whose notice the matter may be brought should firmly execute the law, whenever a proper case presents itself for their decision.

With high respect, your obedient servant,

J. R. TUCKER.

For the Governor.

LETTER FROM THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL.

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT, Dec. 5th, 1859.

SIR,—I am in receipt of your letter of the 2d inst., in which, after referring to the opinion of the Attorney-General of Virginia sustaining the constitutionality of the statute of that State, denouncing, under heavy penalties, the circulation

of books, newspapers, pamphlets, &c., tending to incite the slave population to insurrection, you ask to be instructed as to your duty in reference to such documents, should they be received through the mails for distribution at the post office of which you have charge.

The statute alluded to is in the following words:—

SEC. 23. If a free person write, print, or cause to be written or printed, any book or other writing, with intent to advise or incite negroes in this State to rebel or make insurrection, or inculcating resistance to the right of property of masters in their slaves, or if he shall, with intent to aid the purposes of any such book or writing, knowingly circulate the same, he shall be confined in the Penitentiary, not less than one nor more than five years.

SEC. 24. If any Postmaster or Deputy Postmaster know that any such book or other writing has been received at his office in the mail, he shall give notice thereof to some Justice, who shall inquire into the circumstances, and have such book or writing burned in his presence; if it appear to him that the person to whom it was directed subscribed therefor, knowing its character, or agreed to receive it for circulation to aid the purposes of Abolitionists, the Justice shall commit such person to jail. If any Postmaster or Deputy Postmaster violate this section, he shall be fined, not exceeding two hundred dollars.

The point raised by your inquiry is, whether this statute is in conflict with the act of Congress regulating the administration of this Department, which declares that "if any Postmaster shall unlawfully detain in his office any letter, package, pamphlet or newspaper, with the intent to prevent the arrival and delivery of the same to the person or persons to whom such letter, package, pamphlet or newspaper may be addressed or directed, in the usual course of the transportation of the mail along the route, he shall, on conviction thereof, be fined in a sum not exceeding five hundred dollars, and imprisoned for a term not exceeding six months, and shall moreover be forever thereafter incapable of holding the office of Postmaster in the United States."

The question thus presented was fully decided by Attorney-General Cushing in the case of the Yazoo City post office. (*Opinions of Attorney-Generals*, vol. 8, 489.) He there held that a statute of Mississippi, in all respects analogous to that of Virginia as cited, was not inconsistent with the act of Congress quoted, prescribing the duties of Postmasters in regard to the delivery of mail matter, and that the latter, as good citizens, were bound to yield obedience to such State laws.

You are referred to the luminous discussion of the case for the arguments urged by that distinguished civilian in support of the conclusion at which he arrived. The judgment thus pronounced has been cheerfully acquiesced in by this Department, and is now recognized as one of the guides of its administration. The authority of Virginia to enact such a law rests upon that right of self-preservation which belongs to every government and people, and which has never been surrendered, nor indeed can it be. One of the most solemn constitutional obligations imposed on the Federal Government is that of protecting the States against "insurrection" and "domestic violence"—of course, none of its instrumentalities can be lawfully employed in inciting, even in the remotest degree, to this very crime, which involves in its train all others, and with the suppression of which it is specially charged. You must, under the responsibilities resting upon you as an officer and as a citizen, determine whether the books, pamphlets, newspapers, &c., received by you for distribution, are of the incendiary character described in the statute; and if you believe they are, then you are not only not obliged to deliver them to those to whom they are addressed, but you are empowered and required, by your duty to the State of which you are a citizen, to dispose of them in strict conformity to the provisions of the law referred to. The people of Virginia *may not only forbid the introduction and dissemination of such documents within their borders, but, if brought there in the mails, they may, by appropriate legal proceedings, have them destroyed.* They have the same right to extinguish firebrands thus impiously hurled into the midst of their homes and altars, that a man has to pluck the burning fuse from a bombshell which is about to explode at his feet.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

J. HOLT.

Mr. CHARLES A. ORTON, Postmaster at Falls Church, Va.

POST OFFICE, LYNCHBURG, Va., Dec. 2d, 1859.

MR. HORACE GREELEY — SIR, — I hereby inform you that I shall not, in future, deliver from this office the copies of the *Tribune* which come here, because I believe them to be of that incendiary character which are forbidden circulation alike by the laws of the land, and a proper regard for the safety of society. You will, therefore, discontinue them.

Respectfully,

R. H. GLASS, P. M.

LIFE IN VIRGINIA. — A private letter from a Postmaster in Virginia, whose locality we dare not indicate, for fear of exposing him to mob violence, says: —

“We are in the midst of a Reign of Terror here. There is no certainty that letters duly mailed will not be opened on their way. All men of Northern birth now here are under *surveillance* by the so-called Vigilance Committee; and any one suspected of thinking slavery less than divine is placed under care. Those who have been taking the New York *Tribune* are objects of especial ban. A company of ten came into the office last Monday, and gave notice that I must not give out any more *Tribunes* to the subscribers here. The law of Virginia punishes by fine and imprisonment a Postmaster who gives out what are denounced as incendiary journals. The law of the United States punishes by fine and imprisonment, and further incapacitates from ever holding the office again, any Postmaster who shall withhold or refuse to deliver any paper sent to a regular subscriber at his office. So here I am in a pretty fix.”

John C. Underwood, Esq., writing to Horace Greeley under date of “Occoquan, Prince William Co., Va., Dec. 21st, 1859,” says — “There are some ten or twelve copies of the *Tribune* taken at this office, and the Postmaster refuses to deliver them to the subscribers! The Attorney-General of this State has pronounced them incendiary!”

HARPER'S MAGAZINE AND WEEKLY PROSCRIBED. — The *North Carolinian*, of Fayetteville, N. C., says: "We notice these periodicals upon our streets as numerous as ever, after it is ascertained that G. W. Curtis, one of the editors, is an infamous Abolitionist, and that one of the Harpers has given a large sum of money to the Brown sympathizers. Should these papers be allowed to circulate so profusely in our midst? We notice that his Honor, Judge Saunders, put a stop to the sale of these papers in Raleigh. We would like to know why they are not stopped here. Are we to see these Abolition sheets upon our street without a word of rebuke?"

MORE-MOB SPIRIT. — On Friday evening, of last week, the editor of the *Peninsular News*, a most excellent anti-slavery paper, published at Milford, Delaware, received an intimation that a mob of violent men were making arrangements to attack his office, and destroy the press and type. The matter having leaked out, several substantial citizens of Milford repaired to the office, and volunteered to assist in its defence. The mob collected around the office in considerable numbers, but concluded that the movement was not popular enough in that town, and retired. The attempt has created much indignation among the best portion of the citizens of Milford, who know that the *News* is telling the truth about slavery, and that mobs and all the efforts of Slavery-ridden Democrats will not stop the spread of such truths as it publishes.

Norris F. Stearns, of Greenfield, Mass., a straight-out Democrat, was recently driven from Georgetown, S. C., where he went to sell maps, because he was from the North; and a subscriber to the *Greenfield Gazette*, in Georgia, has been obliged to discontinue his subscription on account of the anti-Northern feeling there. Nothing sectional in these and similar incidents, of course! The South is composed of *national* men!

EXPULSIONS OF CITIZENS OF KENTUCKY.

The Cincinnati *Commercial* of Dec. 31st, says that thirty-six persons arrived in that city from Kentucky, on the 30th, having been warned to leave the State for the crime of believing slavery to be a sin. They are from Berea and vicinity in Madison county, neighbors, co-workers and friends of Rev. John G. Fee.

Among the exiles are Rev. J. A. R. Rogers, principal of a flourishing school at Berea, and his family; J. D. Reed and family; John S. Hanson and family. Mr. Hanson is a native of Kentucky, and a hard-working, thrifty man. He had recently erected a steam saw-mill, and owns five hundred acres of land in Madison county, Ky. The Rev. J. F. Boughton; E. T. Hayes and S. Life, carpenters; A. H. Toney, a native of Tennessee; John Smith, a native of Ohio, a farmer, who has lived in Kentucky some years. Mr. Smith is described by Mr. Fee as a gray-haired father, a man of prayer, indeed of eminent piety and usefulness. More than half of the exiles are natives of Southern States, and several are native Kentuckians. The only offence charged against any of them is that of entertaining abolition sentiments.

The movement for expelling these men arose from the excitement of the John Brown foray. At a pro-slavery meeting held at Richmond, at which, according to the Kentucky papers, the "oldest, most respectable, and law-abiding citizens were in attendance," it was resolved on the ground of "self-preservation," to appoint a committee of sixty-five, to remove from among them J. G. Fee, J. A. R. Rogers, and so many of their associates as in their best judgment the peace and safety of society may require. The committee were instructed to perform this duty "deliberately and humanely as may be, but most effectually." At the meeting, a letter of J. A. R. Rogers was read, inviting any gentleman of the county who, from rumor or otherwise, has formed an unfavorable opinion of the community of Berea, to visit it, and learn its true character. He says:—

"We do not profess to be faultless, but hope that the compliments for industry, probity and good citizenship, that have been paid us by those of

the first rank in the county for wealth and influence, who have made our acquaintance, may be more and more deserved.

It is universally known that most of us, in common with Washington and a host of others, whom we all delight to honor, believe that slavery is a moral and political evil; that it is the duty and privilege of those holding slaves to free them at the earliest consistent moment, and in such a way as to promote the general good; and that complexion is not the true test for the regard or privileges that should be extended to a man. We believe, too, that moral and political means only should be used to remove slavery. Insurrection finds no favor here. Brother Fee never has, and if his words be known, I doubt not does not now give the least countenance to the use of force in hastening the end of slavery.

Hoping that our confidence may be fully and intelligently placed in Him who once was despised, but is now exalted to be a Prince and Saviour, I remain yours respectfully."

The committee were ordered to carry out the designs of the meeting within ten days, and Mr. Rogers thus describes the warning which he received:—

"He was in his cottage, when a summons for him to appear was heard. On going to the door, he discovered an imposing cavalcade, sixty-five well-mounted men being drawn up in warlike array. He was informed that he had ten days in which to leave the State. This was on the 23d of December. He told them that he had not consciously violated any law of the Commonwealth, and that, if he had unconsciously done so, he would be most happy to be tried according to law. He was informed that they did not know that he had violated any law, but that his principles were incompatible with the public peace, and that he must go. The charge against him was abolitionism—the penalty, expulsion from the State.

No harsh or personally disrespectful language was used. He was even told with much courtesy of word and manner, that he was esteemed as a gentleman, but his presence was offensive on account of his principles. They laid it down as an axiom, that such sentiments as he entertained were not to be tolerated by a slaveholding people—that abolition doctrines and slaveholding were not to be permitted together—that one or the other must go under, and that they were resolved he and his friends must go. They warned him peaceably, but any amount of force necessary to carry out the objects of the Richmond meeting would be unhesitatingly employed. They appeared now in peace, but if he did not heed the warning, they would re-appear for war."

The committee represented the wealth and respectability of Madison county, and was sustained for the most part by public sentiment. There were, however, quite a number of slaveholders residing in the vicinity, who were opposed to the proceedings of the higher law pro-slavery zealots.

The *Commercial* in continuation says:—

"A paper was circulated through the county for signatures, (over seven hundred of which were obtained,) endorsing the action taken by the Rich-

mond meeting, and expressive of the sense of the community, that the abolitionists must be driven out. Those who had charge of this paper do not seem to have had any objections to procuring signatures under false pretences. A slaveholder was called on, and asked whether he approved of the John Brown foray. Of course he said he did not. He was then told to sign that paper. He did so, and when he found out the nature of the document, and the real object of obtaining his signature, he was indignant, and wished to withdraw his name, but was deterred by threats from doing so. No signatures to this paper were obtained in the immediate vicinity of Berca, except in this way, a fact which indicates that the neighbors of the Free Soilers did not think them dangerous citizens.

There were some friends of the proscribed persons willing to risk everything and stand by them, but knowing that fighting would be unavailing, they concluded to be without the State within the time assigned for their removal. And they are consequently exiles in our midst, and afford a lesson of the nature of the intolerant despotism of the Slave Power, which should not be lost upon those who are solicitous as to the *status* of the American States."

Before leaving, they made an appeal to Gov. Magoffin for protection, and a committee of them presented the Governor the following petition:—

To His Excellency the Governor of the State of Kentucky:

We, the undersigned, loyal citizens and residents of the State of Kentucky and county of Madison, do respectfully call your attention to the following facts:—

1. We have come from various parts of this and adjoining States to this county, with the intention of making it our home, have supported ourselves and families by honest industry, and endeavored to promote the interest of religion and education.

2. It is a principle with us to "submit to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake; unto governors as unto them that are sent by Him for the punishment of evil-doers, and the praise of them that do well," and in accordance with this principle, we have been obedient in all respects to the laws of this State.

3. Within a few weeks, evil and false reports have been put into circulation, imputing to us motives, words and conduct calculated to inflame the public mind, which imputations are utterly false and groundless. These imputations we have publicly denied, and offered every facility for the fullest investigation, which we have earnestly but vainly sought.

4. On Friday, the 23d inst., a company of sixty-two men, claiming to have been appointed by a meeting of the citizens of our county, without any shadow of legal authority, and in violation of the Constitution and laws of the State and United States, called at our respective residences and places of business, and notified us to leave the county and State, and be without this county and State within ten days, and handed us the accompanying document, in which you will see that, unless the said order be promptly complied with, there is expressed a fixed determination to remove us by force.

In view of these facts, which we can substantiate by the fullest evidence, we respectfully pray that you, in the exercise of the power vested in you

by the Constitution, and made your duty to use, do protect us in our rights as loyal citizens of the Commonwealth of the State of Kentucky.

J. A. R. ROGERS,	SWINGLEHURST LIFE,
J. G. HANSON,	JOHN SMITH,
I. D. REED,	E. T. HAYES,
JAS. S. DAVIS,	CHAS. E. GRIFFIN,
JOHN F. BOUGHTON,	A. G. W. PARKER,
W. H. TORREY.	

BEREA, Madison Co., Ky., Dec. 24th, 1859.

Gov. Magoffin, says the *Commercial*, received the bearers of the petition (Reed and Hayes) courteously, and advised them, for the sake of preserving the peace of the State, to leave it! He said that the public mind was deeply moved by the events in Virginia, and that until the excitement subsided, their presence in the State would be dangerous, and he could not engage to protect them from their fellow-citizens who had resolved that they must go.

He promised them security while taking their departure, and that their property should be protected. They say that, for the most part, they were treated politely by those who have driven them from their homes, and they have hopes that presently the people of Kentucky will take a sober thought, and allow them to return to their several places of abode and accustomed avocations.

It is certainly not a light matter to drive out of a State men who build steam saw-mills, improve farms, keep schools, and labor faithfully as ministers of the Gospel, and who give no provocation to any in any way—who offend against no law—who make no war upon society—and who merely hold that slavery is a sin, and teach that it should come to an end in God's own good time. The steam-mill of Mr. Hanson was doing well until he was constrained to abandon it. The school of Mr. Rogers was in a flourishing condition, having nearly a hundred pupils during the last term, a great portion of them the children of slaveholders. Kentucky cannot afford to drive beyond her borders the men who build mills and academies.

The exiles seem in good spirits. They do not indulge even in unkind words about those who have made them homeless. They seem to be divided in opinion as to their course in future. They all hope to go back to Old Kentucky, and live, labor, and die on her soil. Some fear they cannot go back, and

think of looking out for employment in the free States; and they have vague ideas of appealing for protection in their rights and immunities as citizens to the Federal Government.

LETTER FROM REV. JOHN G. FEE.

The following is an extract from a letter of Mr. Fee to one of the Secretaries of the American Missionary Association, dated Germantown, Bracken County, Ky., Jan. 25th:—

“I am enduring a great trial. The floods come over me. I am again to be driven out, by a more overwhelming force than was in Madison county. Last Monday, it was supposed there came from eight hundred to a thousand people at the county seat. With almost unanimous rush, the mass gathered from the two counties, (I am near the Mason county line,) and resolved to drive me out. Some ten or twelve days are given us to leave. A committee of one hundred men are appointed to come, and warn us to go. I have sought counsel of the Lord, and of friends. There can be no human protection. I am to be driven out from one of the best communities in the State.

A few days since, I went to Germantown, to talk with the leading influential citizens. I desired to meet them face to face to talk over the positions I assume, and the evils of mob violence. Brother Humlong, a man of true excellence, went with me.

We called, and talked freely with many. A physician, of commanding position in society, speaking of the people of Bethesda, friends of the Church, said, “I wish to Heaven all Kentucky was as that neighborhood.” “The people,” said he, “are industrious, quiet, upright citizens,” and then repeated his wish! Now from this scene of thrift I must be driven, from relatives, from the dear brethren and sisters in the Church, and friends around. Also from the plan or prospect of building up churches in Kentucky, and, still harder, from the prospect of carrying to the people of Kentucky the only

Gospel that can save. I can understand, now, why the Saviour wept over Jerusalem, as he saw that people about to push the cup of Salvation from them. Oh, how I wish I could be with you, to tell the anguish of my heart for others, and to plan for the future ! The giving up of property, home, all earthly considerations, are not so painful as the idea of giving up these churches, and the privilege of laboring directly with and for the people of Kentucky. How shall I go away, and give up this work ? I cannot give it up. I must only change my place of labor for a time. For years I have had unceasing care and toil to get things so established here, that I could have a prospect of their standing. Other brethren have toiled for a like object. We hoped then to have rest of spirit, and to rejoice in that reaped growth, which we then expected to see when we should have lived down much of the opposition, and seen confidence secured. The rest has not yet come. The viper that now stings, has been nurtured into strength in the bosom of the denominations around us. Church and State have been warming into life that which is now poisoning their vitals, and ruthlessly destroying all law and order. The abomination of desolation is working. Can, oh, can this nation be roused to the work of exterminating this monster, Slavery ? It can be done by means peaceful and legitimate, if Christians and philanthropists will only, at once, do their duty, in Church and State.

Brother Hanson, Griffin, Mallett, Holman, and Robinson, are ordered to leave here. Brother Davis (Rev. J. S. Davis, of Cabin Creek, Lewis Co.,) is also driven out. A tremendous meeting for that purpose preceded the one held here."

ANOTHER EXPULSION FROM KENTUCKY.

Some of the persons lately expelled from Berea, Madison County, Kentucky, having manifested an intention of taking up their abode in Bracken and Lewis Counties, strong manifestations of displeasure have been exhibited by a portion of the inhabitants of those localities. The excitement has been

growing more intense for a week or two past, and at last found its vent in meetings, the proceedings of which we annex.

On Saturday, the 21st, a public meeting was held at Orangeburg, Mason County, where the following resolutions were passed:—

Whereas, Our fellow-citizens of the county of Madison have recently expelled therefrom the Rev. John G. Fee—a radical Abolitionist and zealous agent and emissary of the Anti-Slavery Societies of the North—and many confederates in the dissemination of his principles, and the accomplishment of the illegal and dangerous purposes of his mission; be it, therefore,

1. Resolved, That we approve of the action of the citizens of Madison county, rendered, as we believe, necessary and justifiable by a proper regard for the protection of their property, and the safety and security of their families.

2. That no Abolitionist has a right to establish himself in the slave-holding community, and disseminate opinions and principles destructive of its tranquillity and safety.

3. That forbearance ought nor will not by us be extended to those persons who come hither with intent to, and who do actually interfere with our rights of property or domestic institutions. Our own peace, and the good of the slaves, alike demand their expulsion.

4. That Kentucky has never assailed, openly or covertly, the rights or institutions of the North, nor will she suffer, silently or unrepelled, any aggression upon those guaranteed to her, either by her own or that of the Constitution of the United States.

5. That we desire and demand to be "*let alone*," leaving our officious and philanthropic friends at the North and elsewhere to work out their personal and social "*salvation with fear and trembling*."

6. That the Rev. James S. Davis (a co-worker with the Rev. John G. Fee, and one of those expelled from Madison) is, as we understand, now resident on Cabin Creek, in Lewis County, Ky., and has, as we are informed, recently received for circulation a large number of "*Helper's Compendium of the Impending Crisis of the South*," a book, in the estimation of this meeting, dangerous in its spirit and tendencies. Be it, therefore, further resolved, That his presence and residence among us are highly objectionable, and that he be and is hereby advised and requested to remove from Kentucky, and that Charles Dimmitt, John R. Bean, James Francis, Samuel Hord, James Hise, Garrett Bradley, and Leonard Bean are hereby appointed a committee to inform Mr. Davis of the purpose and object of this meeting, and that he comply with said request within seven days next after the same is made him, or suffer the consequences of non-compliance therewith. Duty, safety, and the interest of the community compelling us, in the event of non-compliance, to resort to means alike painful to us and hazardous to him.

7. In case Mr. Davis does not leave, that the committee hereinbefore appointed call another public meeting to consider and determine what action shall be had in the premises.

8. That these proceedings be signed by the President and Secretary, and published in the Maysville papers.

On Monday, the 23d inst., a meeting was held at Brooks-

ville, Bracken County, the proceedings of which we give below :

A meeting of the citizens of Bracken and Mason Counties, Kentucky, called for the purpose of considering the propriety of allowing John G. Fee & Co., and others of like character, to settle among us, was held at Brooksville, Bracken County, Ky., January 23d, 1860.

On motion of John H. Boude, Col. W. Orr was elected President, and Gen. Samuel Worthington and Rudolph Black, Vice Presidents. Arthur Fox, James W. Armstrong, and J. A. Kackley were appointed Secretaries.

On motion of Judge Joseph Doniphan, a Committee of twelve were appointed to draft resolutions expressive of the sense of this meeting. The following persons were appointed as said Committee: Dr. J. Taylor Bradford, Col. A. Bledsoe, W. P. Delt, Dr. John Coburn, Judge Joseph Doniphan, Isaac Reynolds, Henry Anderson, John E. French, A. J. Coburn, Robert Coleman, R. P. Dimmitt, and Col. A. Soward.

The Committee, through their Chairman, Judge Joseph Doniphan, presented the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted :—

Whereas, John Grege Fee and John G. Hanson, lately expelled from Madison County, Kentucky, are now in Bracken County, preparing to make it their home. And whereas, that both Fee and Hanson are enemies to the State, dangerous to the security of our lives and property, we, the citizens of Kentucky, deem it our duty to protect our lives and property from enemies at home as well as abroad, do now solemnly declare the said John G. Fee and John G. Hanson must, by the 4th day of February next, leave this county and State.

1. That we earnestly entreat them to do so without delay, but in the event of their failure to do so by that time, they shall do so, even should it require physical force to accomplish the end.

2. That J. B. Mallett, a school teacher in District No. 27, and Wyatt Robinson and G. R. Holeman, must leave this county and State at the same time; and in the event of their failing or refusing, they shall be expelled by force; and that for the purpose of carrying out these resolves, a Committee of fifty of our citizens be appointed to notify the said Hanson, Fee, Mallett, Robinson and Holeman of the action of this meeting, and said Committee be also empowered to give notice to any other persons of like character to leave the State, and report the same to the meeting to be held in Germantown on the 6th day of February next.

3. That Dr. J. Taylor Bradford, Chairman; Rudolph Black, W. H. Reynolds, Henderson Anderson, Jonathan Hedgecock, C. A. Soward, W. Orr, Sr., John W. Terhune, Washington Ward, Jesse Holton, John Taylor, J. W. Armstrong, James Booth, W. Winter, Marcus Ware, E. W. Chinn, R. S. Thomas, John M. Walton, R. P. Dimmitt, Wm. Dougherty, J. A. Kackley, John M. Pearl, Robt. Coleman, David Brooks, Thurman Pollock, Joseph

Doniphan, A. D. Moore, Riley Rout, D. R. Cinville, J. H. Murry, Sen., of Bracken; A. Killgore, Gen. Samuel Worthington, J. E. French, Benjamin Kirk, Chas. Gordon, Isaac Reynolds, Col. A. Bledsoe, James Y. Reynolds, Evan Lloyd, Dr. John A. Coburn, Jacob Slack, B. W. Woods, Sr., Gen. Samuel Foreman, A. J. Coburn, C. A. Lyon, Samuel Frazee, A. Fox, R. C. Lewis, John D. Lloyd, Thornton Norris, Thomas Worthington, J. W. Reynolds, J. G. Bacon, and A. Hargot, of Mason, shall compose that Committee. That said Committee, in the event of said Fee, Hanson, Mallett, Robinson, and Holeman, failing to remove, that then the Committee report the result to a meeting to be held in Germantown, Ky., on the 6th day of February next.

4. That we deprecate the use of a church, known as the Free Church, by Abolition preachers; and we now solemnly declare that we will resist, by all possible means, the occupying said church, by such incendiary persons.

5. That the Secretaries be requested to prepare copies of the proceedings of this meeting, and furnish, one each, to *The Mountain Democrat*, *The Richmond Messenger*, *The Augusta Sentinel*, *The Maysville Eagle*, and *The Maysville Express*.

The meeting then adjourned.

WILLIAM ORR, President.

ARTHUR FOX, JAMES W. ARMSTRONG, J. A. KACKLEY, Secretaries.

In accordance with the resolutions adopted at the Braeken county meeting, a Committee representing the organized mob proceeded on Thursday, the 25th inst., to the work assigned them, and notified Fee, Hanson, Mallett, Holeman, Robinson, Griggson, and Griffin that they must be without the State on or by the 4th of February next.

They assumed an astonishing amount of pomposity. Such was the power assumed by them, that they passed through the toll-gate, and informed the keeper that "this company paid no toll."

They first met in Germantown, and proceeded in a body to the residence of Mr. John Humlong, and called for J. B. Mallett.

He came out within a few steps of the company, when the Chairman, Dr. Bradford, called out in a stern voice, as follows: "Walk this way, Mr. Mallett; don't have any fears, we don't intend to hurt you." Mr. Mallett replied, "No, he expected not; he was in the company of gentlemen, he supposed." Dr. Bradford read the resolutions, and asked, "Do you intend to leave?" Mr. Mallett replied that he had said he intended to do so.

Mr. Mallett asked the privilege of making a few remarks, but was told that the mob had no time to listen. Mr. Humlong asked, and was also denied this privilege. However, he

made the inquiry, what was this for? They replied, for teaching incendiary and insurrectional sentiments. Mr. H. said he would say, to the contrary, the teaching had always been that of peace.

They then proceeded to G. G. Hanson's, and in the same pompous manner notified his son to leave.

Mr. J. G. Hanson endeavored to get a hearing, but to no purpose. In this mob were some of his relations.

They next called at Mr. Vincent Hamilton's, father-in-law of John G. Fee. Mr. Fee told them he had intended to leave, yet in their notice he recognized no right to require him to leave. He asked the mob to pause a moment, but the Chairman ordered them to proceed. He was previously told that he was smart enough to keep out of the hands of the law, and this was the only course to get him out. As one of the mob passed, Mr. Fee extended his hand and said:

"Do you approve of this action?"

"Yes, I do," was the reply.

"Well," said Mr. Fee, "we took vows together in the same Church. I expected different things of you."

In that mob were school-mates, parents of school-mates, and life-long acquaintances.

From this they proceeded to the residence of Mr. John D. Gregg, where Mr. Holeman was stopping, in feeble health, and notified him, without a show of authority from any previous meeting, and ordered him, peremptorily, to be without the State by the 4th of February next.

J. G. Fee is a minister, and well known as being an earnest man, and esteemed by all who love and admire an honest man. J. G. Hanson is a citizen of Berea, from whence he had been driven, and was visiting at his father's. He had never been charged with a crime, unless it was his *honesty*! C. E. Griffin is also a Berean, and is noted for his quiet, peaceable character. Mr. Griffin is a quiet, unpretending laborer, and has always been noted for his amiable disposition. He is a poor man, and this blow is felt severely by him and his family. He is driven from the land of his nativity, the scenes of his childhood, and all his friends. G. R. Holeman has formerly been employed as a school-teacher, but has not been engaged in teaching this winter, on account of poor health. He is a native of Ohio. J. B. Mallett has taught

Locust Academy school for nearly three years. The school has the reputation of being one of the best in the country. Notwithstanding the school closed most abruptly, he received a certificate of respect, signed by the patrons of the institution. An enraged mob could not accuse, or sustain the accusation, that he was even aggressive in his teachings upon the subject of Slavery. Scholars who had attended the school six months, say they never heard the subject mentioned in the school. Yet he has ever acknowledge himself in the social circle to be an anti-slavery man. He is a native of New York State.

The people have for years sustained the reputation of being among the most honest and reliable men in the State. A prominent citizen and slaveholder said, "Would to God all Kentucky was like that neighborhood!"

The exiles left Germantown on Saturday morning. Eighteen, including women and children, made up the company of the expelled, and some of these persons arrived in this city last night. Legal advice was taken, prior to their leaving home, as to the best course to be pursued. It was found that they could only remain by resisting the mob, and this was not deemed advisable. It was therefore decided to withdraw quietly.

At Felicity, on Saturday night, a part of the exiles were present at a large meeting held in the M. E. Church.

The names of those who arrived here last night are as follows: C. E. Griffin and lady; the Rev. John G. Fee, J. G. Hanson, G. R. Holeman, J. B. Mallett, and Oliver Griggson. — *Cincinnati Daily Enquirer*, Jan. 31st.

A TAR AND FEATHERING CASE. — A Scotchman named Sandy Tate, having expressed himself rather too freely upon the slave question and Harper's Ferry affair, in the village of Salisbury, North Carolina, was recently seized by a mob, and tarred and feathered, after which he was placed upon a fence rail, and carried to a neighboring duck pond, where, in the presence of an immense throng of people, he was ducked until he recanted. Upon being released, the poor fellow took to his heels, and has never been seen since.

A PREACHER ARRESTED IN NORTH CAROLINA.

GREENSBORO', N. C., Dec. 26th, 1859.

On Friday, the 23d inst., Daniel Worth, a Wesleyan Methodist preacher, a native of this State, but who has been residing until within two years past in Indiana, where he was formerly a member of the Legislature of that State, was arrested by the Sheriff of this county on a charge of selling and circulating "Helper's Impending Crisis," and also of uttering language in the pulpit calculated to make slaves and free negroes dissatisfied with their condition, thereby offending against the laws of the State. He was brought before the magistrates of the town, and a partial hearing had, when the case was adjourned until the following afternoon at one o'clock, for the purpose of procuring the attendance of witnesses for the prosecution. The prisoner was taken to jail, bail having been refused by the magistrates.

On Saturday, at the appointed hour, the Court met. The examination was held in the old Court-House, which was crowded.

The prisoner had no counsel, but managed his own case. Messrs. Scott, Dick and McLean, of the Greensboro' bar, were engaged in the prosecution.

Over a dozen witnesses were examined, and it was conclusively proved that Worth had on many and various occasions uttered such sentiments in the pulpit against slavery as the State of North Carolina declared to be unlawful to be uttered. It was also proved by a witness that he (the witness) had purchased from Worth a copy of "Helper's Impending Crisis."

Worth acknowledged during the examination that he had been engaged in circulating Helper's book, and also a work on the "War in Kansas," but that he did not consider it any harm to circulate them; that at first he did not intend to admit having circulated the former, but that he wanted to make them, as a lawyer would, bring evidence to substantiate the charge.

During the examination, various extracts were read from "Helper's Impending Crisis," some showing the *modus ope-*

randi by which slavery was to be got rid of in the South, and others pretending to give facts, all of which were commented on by the various counsel for the State.

It was also proved that Worth had, in the pulpit, on the Sabbath day, applied the most opprobrious epithets to the legislators of the State of North Carolina, saying that the laws ought not to be obeyed; that "they were made by a set of drunkards, gamblers and whoremongers."

The prosecution was opened by Wm. Scott, Esq., who, in his remarks, eloquently described the inhuman tendency of the doctrines inculcated and taught in this work of Helper's, which this traitor to the State of his birth had been engaged in circulating. He read many extracts from the book, and showed how grossly perverted were the facts pretended to be therein set forth — that they were base lies and calumnies on the South.

Robert P. Dick, Esq., made some highly effective and stirring remarks; he was glad that this case of Worth's had come up here in old Guilford county — a county that had the reputation of being an Abolition county; that a warrant had already been issued from Raleigh for this Daniel Worth, but that this was the best place for him to be tried, that the result of this examination might now go forth as a vindication from the foul aspersion cast upon it. He spoke of Helper as a traitor to the State that had once claimed him as a North Carolinian, adding that this man who sought, in his "Impending Crisis," to array the South against slavery, and bring about bloodshed and anarchy, and to desolate and lay waste the beautiful South, to dissolve the glorious Union, which had been given us by the wisdom of our forefathers, was obnoxious to the law under other criminal charges. He prayed and trusted that the Union would never be dissolved.

Robert McLean, Esq., took up the question at issue. The very doctrines that the prisoner had been disseminating in his remarks from the pulpit, and which were contained in "Helper's Impending Crisis," which book he had been proved to have circulated, were at utter variance with the laws of the State of North Carolina, and it was upon this charge that he was now undergoing his examination. He read several extracts from Helper's work, commenting on them in a clear, forcible and telling manner. His remarks on the ways and

means of abolishing slavery, as set forth in the "Impending Crisis," were very sarcastically commented on, and were much applauded by the large audience present.

He read from the "Impending Crisis," the names of Cheever, Chapin and Bellows, of the clergy of the North, as being engaged in the advocacy of those principles which were to dismember this Republic, and the name of the Rev. Daniel Worth as a Southern co-laborer.

It was extremely difficult to restrain the applause during the delivery of the remarks of all the legal gentlemen who spoke — the Court frequently interfering, and insisting upon order being observed.

Previous to the remarks of Robert McLean, Esq., the prisoner delivered his defence. He attempted to argue the evil of slavery, and to try and convince the Court that he was right in preaching against it. He was twice requested by the Court to stick to the point at issue; that they were not here to listen to a discussion on slavery, but to hear what he had to say in reply to the charges brought against him of violating the laws of North Carolina.

The prosecution requested the Court to let him go on.

The prisoner then continued his remarks at considerable length on Abolition, until the Court told him that it had listened long enough to that strain, and desired him to speak as to the charges brought against him. The prisoner then spoke as to his course having been consistent with his calling as a preacher and as a man; that when he heard there was a warrant out for his arrest, he had started for this place to surrender himself; that in his preaching and practice, he had only been doing what others in the State had long ago been doing unmolested; that he was a peace man and a Union man; that he sought not to dis sever the Union; that he did not endorse all the sentiments contained in Helper's work; that he had formerly been a magistrate in this county; that he had been living in Indiana many years, and came back to North Carolina about two years since, to benefit the health of an invalid wife; that that wife had died, and he had married again, and had been engaged in preaching in several counties since; he was not conscious of having violated the laws of the State, either in his calling as a preacher, or as a circulator of "Helper's Impending Crisis."

The Court ordered him to find bail in \$5,000 for his appearance at the next term of Court, and the same amount to keep the peace until that time. Bail for the first was offered, but up to the present time of writing, the other bail has not been obtained. It is said that should the prisoner be released on the above bail, he will be taken before his Honor, Judge Dick, who will refuse to take bail for him.

At the close of the examination, remarks were made by Ralph Gorrell, Esq., and Robert P. Dick, Esq., to the effect that the public mind was much excited by this examination, and that threats had been made as to a disposition of the prisoner; but that they would recommend the people to let the law take its course, and not to do any thing to militate against its authority, now that the prisoner was in its hands.

The Rev. Daniel Worth is a large, portly man, with a fine head, an intellectual and expressive countenance, and a large, commanding eye. He is fluent in speech, and the general style and manner of his speaking are calculated to win attention. He did not appear to be at all embarrassed or frightened at his position; on the contrary, he expressed his ideas and opinions with boldness and fearlessness. He complained to the Court of the unfitness of the jail for a prison, it being extremely cold weather, and no fire in the building; he had passed one night there, and was fully competent to express an opinion on the subject.

Mr. Worth was a man raised in this county, is sixty-five years old, and emigrated to Indiana and Ohio, and no doubt to Kansas. He was in the Legislature of the first-named State, acting as sub-chairman in the Convention that nominated Fremont for President..

I was glad to see that mob law was not exercised on him; but there is no doubt that the punishment prescribed for this offence by the laws of North Carolina will be fully meted out to him, which he and all others deserve who engage in such hellish work.

This man has been an eyesore to this community for eighteen months. Nothing but good feelings for the respectable family who bear his name has prevented him from incurring the same fate months ago. A clean sweep may now be expected by all who advocate such vile doctrines as those disseminated. Any man who is found with a volume of the

"Impending Crisis," or the sequel to it, will be held strictly accountable how he came by it. I am fully satisfied that if the course is persisted in which has already been attempted by our Northern Abolitionists, the North will suffer much in her trade with the Southern States, to say nothing of the political consequences attending it. It is as well to state that the punishment for the first offence of this kind under the statute laws of North Carolina is thirty-nine lashes; for the second, it is death, as meted out to John Brown and his fellow-associates at Harper's Ferry. — *Correspondence of the New York Herald.*

LETTER FROM A LADY TO AN OFFICER OF THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION.

GUILFORD COUNTY, N. C., Jan. 13th, 1860.

At present, we are circumstanced something like the children of Israel, when they started for the Land of Promise, pursued by Pharaoh and his host, with the Red Sea before them, and mountains on either hand. Still we hope to see the salvation of the Lord, relying on the arm of Jehovah for protection.

I suppose, ere this, you have seen some account of the Rev. D. Worth's arrest and commitment to prison, in Greensboro', Guilford County, N. C., charged with circulating incendiary books, &c., principally the "Impending Crisis," by Helper, which seems to be attracting more attention, at present, than all other books put together.

Brother Worth was arrested on the 23d of last month, had a preliminary trial before three magistrates on the 24th, which resulted in his commitment to prison to await further decision at the Spring Term of the Superior Court. There was great excitement during his trial; three lawyers appeared in behalf of the State; the prisoner pleaded his own cause in an able manner—his enemies themselves being judges. Since then, there have been five other arrests of citizens of